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ABSTRACT

Large numbers of persons of African and Asiatic descent have immigrated to the countries of Western Europe in recent decades, and their presence has raised significant problems in terms of racial and cultural relations for European leaders. This document features the general report from a conference sponsored by the Council of Europe's Council for Cultural Cooperation that was devoted to discussing issues concerning minority-majority relations. The general report seeks to focus on the problem by examining the interaction of imported cultures with those of the host countries. Background information on the specific issues involved is provided including steps taken by individual European states, prior Council of Europe studies, and the agenda for the 1989 conference. A series of new approaches to addressing the problems is then put forth, including models such as interculturalism, multiculturalism, and transculturalism. A number of appendices are included: (1) reports of the four working groups of the 1989 Strasbourg Conference; (2) "The Islamo-Mediterranean Dimension," an article by Professor A. Moatissime; and (3) a list of the participants at the 1989 Strasbourg Conference. (DB)

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COUNCIL FOR CULTURAL CO-OPERATION
SCHOOL AND OUT-OF-SCHOOL EDUCATION SECTION

New minority groups in the citadel of Europe

Multidisciplinary conference on the educational and cultural aspects of community relations

Strasbourg, 5-7 December 1989

SO 021 756

Strasbourg 1991

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THE COUNCIL OF EUROPE

Founded in 1949, the Council of Europe is composed of those states of the continent which embrace parliamentary democracy. Twenty-five countries (1), including the twelve members of the European Community, form part of the most important intergovernmental and parliamentary forum on the continent, with its headquarters in Strasbourg. The Palais de l'Europe accommodates the Secretariat of the organisation, whose 941 officials are in the service of both the Committee of Ministers and the Parliamentary Assembly.

The objectives of the Council of Europe are:

- to work for the closer union of more than 400 million Europeans;
- to protect and develop democracy and human rights;
- to undertake co-operation in the broadest sense between the member countries in the fields of education, culture, social matters, health, local and regional authorities, environment and legal affairs. Only defence is outside its terms of reference.

Everything concerning the education and culture sector is covered by the Council for Cultural Co-operation (CDCC) which in addition to the twenty-five covers, the Holy See, Poland, the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Yugoslavia. Its task is to ensure the development of the "cultural dimension" of our societies and to enable all Europeans to fulfil themselves as individuals through cultural expression and the opportunities open to them in the field of education, taking account of course of the evolution of ideas such as the introduction of the new technologies.

The CDCC is advised by the Standing Conference of European Ministers of Education and experts from these ministries in the member countries, the competent committees of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe and non-governmental organisations with consultative status in the organisation of the twenty-five.

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(1) The member countries of the Council of Europe are: Austria, Belgium, Cyprus, Czechoslovakia, Denmark, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Iceland, Ireland, Italy, Liechtenstein, Luxembourg, Malta, Netherlands, Norway, Portugal, San Marino, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, United Kingdom.

MULTIDISCIPLINARY CONFERENCE ON THE EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL ASPECTS OF COMMUNITY RELATIONS

Strasbourg 5-7 December 1989

NEW MINORITY GROUPS IN THE CITADEL OF EUROPE

General Report

by

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COUNCIL FOR CULTURAL CO-OPERATION
SCHOOL AND OUT-OF-SCHOOL EDUCATION SECTION

Strasbourg
1991

The abundance of regulations, press articles and debates on immigrants in Western Europe is not necessarily a guarantee of accuracy. Too many people are involved, in a manner more conducive to ambiguity than to interdisciplinarity: industrial sociology, cultural anthropology, descriptive reporting, teaching, politics etc., not to mention the ulterior motives which sometimes underlie them: open or disguised xenophobia, retrospective nostalgia and repressive policies redolent of sometimes irresponsible generosities. To this must be added the vastness of a movement which mixes millions of people ...

Clearly, we shall exclude from examination the theory that the best way to solve the problem is to remove it, ie merely to send the immigrants home. This is a solution as drastic as it is illusory in the case of people who have sometimes been established up to the third generation, even though it is unfortunately true that our century has already witnessed evictions of this nature. Extensive movements have thus eliminated European minorities from the Southern shore of the Mediterranean. Others transformed Central Europe in the aftermath of the Second World War. They have left precedents on which no regime would wish to presume.

To return to the immigration of workers, although the volume has dropped in Western Europe in the last fifteen years because of the stabilisation of numbers, the settlement of families and the growth of a specific youth locally, the problem has thereby been renewed rather than mitigated.

It is therefore right that various committees from the States involved or the Council of Europe should have become involved in this vast problem. Theoretical and field studies, consultations with experts and leaders, general reports and provisional evaluations have provided us with extensive documentation and recommendations which cannot be ignored in debates or activities, although they still call for criticism and additions and extensions.

Aware as we are of the risks of omission, confusion and error, we shall concentrate our examination on a single aspect of the problem: the interaction of imported cultures with that/those of the host country/countries. This point of view will appear restrictive at first sight. But since there are many links between the culture of a group and its identity, this apparently narrow research will constantly lead on to a major problem: that of the participation of certain types of minority groups in the freedoms of the citadel of Europe under construction.

I. AN OUTLINE CRITICAL ANALYSIS

I.1 A working hypothesis

To start with however, we must confess to uncertainty. What is a culture? What are **cultures** (in the plural)? We shall not embark upon a list of definitions which have already been given, and in which aesthetics, history, anthropology etc., compete or are argued over. We shall confine ourselves to a personal formula, which will provide a working hypothesis.

A culture in our opinion, is none other than **the suit of any society, by means of which it seeks a direction and expresses itself.**

There are several corollaries to this definition:

- we deliberately said "society" and not "nation", although we must not lapse into outright elimination of the correlations of the nation-state, which is a diehard notion in Europe, as we know. What is of interest to us is the link between any culture and a social substratum, whether this is extensive or restricted, organised or otherwise, global or sectoral;

- hence demarcating and descriptive values and probable (but not essential) implications with a territorial base, even if the latter is more in the memory than based on actual experience;

- the evanescence of distinctions between "form", "content" and "context", concepts one or the other of which is too often qualified in analysis as "decisive". It is on the contrary the movement between them which constitutes the "real" contingently freeing consideration from the symmetrical dangers of idealism and sociologism;

- the strength of dynamisms linked to the sentiment, the project, the master idea of an environment or an era. A locomotive can thus become a cultural significant, as Zola perceived, whereas Bouguereau's nudes only procured in the same time an object of consumption.

These deductions could easily be extended, but we shall refrain from doing so to avoid lapsing into didacticism. Moreover the proposed definition would already be guilty of excessive simplicity. Does it not postulate a quasi-coincidence of contours between a society and its culture on the one hand and the relationships on the other hand between one and the other? In real life, things are not so clear cut.

There is virtually no unicultural society. Even in a nation State which has been centralised for a long time like France, the overall culture is a disputed balance between pressures from inside and alluvial deposits, and even encroachments from outside. That is true of all the other global societies.

Moreover, the expansion of technical civilisation, which has reached the stage which some people describe fairly summarily as post-modernity, is spreading cosmopolitanism and its appeal throughout Europe.

Although the publication in English in 1989 of a review from the Pasteur Institute, or the choice of that language as the vehicle for a scientific colloquy in Montpellier were only isolated phenomena which provoked a fairly mild reaction from French opinion, few people are surprised that most of the music and rythms which are appreciated by young people from Lisbon to Moscow is of American negro origin. This is not the place to cavil at the changes which model our motorway landscaping on Texas and bring fast food to the capitals of gastronomy, any more that the changes in attitude which cause what was deemed to be "orignal", "traditional" or even natural to be massively and artfully accompanied by imports. What is true of France applies also to Great Britain, the Netherlands, Sweden, etc.

Once this movement is located horizontally, if we may so describe it, there are others which must also be recognised and which lead to internal disalignments in any cultural unit. To return to the example of France. In relation to the dominant culture, which is confidently described as French culture, there are in the first place regional cultures: those of Brittany, Oc and Corsica for instance, themselves graded into dialects and patois; they are more or less living or vestigial, passive or resistant. It should be added that the dominant culture also has varying sectors. Paradoxically, the one which is known as "cultural" in government concerns, and which has specialist centres and a ministry devoted to it, is in fact marginal. When Molière tested the language of his plays with porters in Port-aux-Foins, his intention was precisely to escape the marginality of elitism and Parisianism. It is true that some of these marginal areas are uprated by fashion, or by money (sales of pictures), whereas others suffer from economic precariousness, obsolescence and prejudice: in short, here again, multiplicity, gaps, difference ...

Where then should the "true" culture of a country be located? Towards its classicism? We then run the risk of erring on the side of pedantism and unreality. Towards "what is best shared"? There are considerable risks here too: conformism and triviality are engulfed in judgments which devastate innovation and creation. Must we then look towards a just balance between the reproduction of old models and significant innovation? Then tell me what are "just" and "significant"? We could play this Socratic game for a long time, with questions and aporia. The sole object was to show how, notwithstanding a simple definition, which has been put forward, the culture of a group is as difficult as its identity to reduce to "clear and distinct" concepts. It is necessary, to obtain an idea of European culture, to analyse the dense work of Keyserling, Spengler and Madariaga? In order to appreciate the consciousness of Spanish culture, must we credit the antithetical couplets of Unamuno, or merely acknowledge that every identity is based on contradition?

Intuition, immediate perception and comprehension born out of dialogue will often in the case in point be more revealing than analysis. Better to acknowledge this than to expatiate on school judgments.

This digression in no way diminishes an observation which is valid almost everywhere. If we take France again as an extreme case, as a country known for unitarism, not only does the content of the

whole here yield to inputs from outside, but the inside, though it may claim to be homogeneous, does not confine itself to sustaining an unequal and moving plurality. It postulates it!

Such a plurality goes without saying, The cultural facts are pre-eminently social facts. They add to their generic complexity and internal pluralism which is peculiar to them. Evolutive dynamics, exchanges with others and transformation characterise them and perhaps found them: all characteristics of current observation and visibly called upon to give a verdict with time.

I.2 Recent changes in the problem

What will happen when the primary reserve which shelters under the national canopy is challenged by the massive influx of aliens? The brawls which illustrated in the South of France at the beginning of the century a resistance by local people to the influx of Piedmontese workers now, with hindsight, seem like family quarrels. The sons of the intruders of that time are now firmly settled. Many have positions of responsibility locally, or have made names in the arts or politics of France. So long as the migration of workers only involved Europeans in Western Europe in its movements, it posed only minor problems. In Great Britain even in 1981, out of 3.4 million persons born outside Great Britain, there were only 1.41 "brown or black" nationals: but even then this foreign input caused anxieties and even fears and, in the best hypothesis, specific interrogation.

In France, it does not matter that the number of Portuguese is greater than the number of Algerians. It is the Islamic group, which comprises Turks and Africans in addition to the Maghrebis, which is a cause of anxiety. It only needed a strike at Talbot at the beginning of the eighties for a socialist Minister to accuse these workers, Morroccan for the most part, of religious fanaticism. The same suspicions were evident in Belgium where, after what was known as the "Italian decade" (1946-1956), there was a shift in public opinion which attributed the main role to the Moslems, notwithstanding their comparatively small numbers (38.7% in 1989).

Even the falling off in the total number of immigrants, which has been appreciable since the mid-seventies, did not temper the susceptibilities of native Europeans towards this type of newcomer, or those taken to be such. This is so true that according to the pertinent comments of A. Djaghloul, sociological analysis itself was confined to recurrent concepts, based on foreclosed situations. Whereas for instance 60% of the Algerian community in 1968 consisted of young people born in France, the academic debate, and to an even greater extent the press polemics, continued to rely on a fantasy updating of processes belonging to the past" (cf. Bibliog. 3). They were still talking, and we are talking here of immigration, when in fact this is a matter of new minorities which are in the process of being confirmed!...

Certainly Europe was already experiencing difficulties arising from the absorption or devaluation of one community by another. But until then it had only been a matter of variations of a known typology, which was accepted by everyone, whereas the expected diversity introduces differences which are greater, or in any case less

well tolerated. No longer are they only sociological, but they apparently concern civilisation and **Weltanschauung**. Although the latecomers still adduce the racial argument, it is probable that the frequent imbalance of views of these new realities derives from a poor appreciation of the cultural data, poor because of ignorance, distortion, excess or default.

I.3 **Studies at state level**

The doubtless exaggerated pessimism of this last sentence should not detract from the considerable sum of research and experiment undertaken by several countries of the Council of Europe to deal with a problem which is certainly quantitatively less simple, but qualitatively more difficult than those which arose from the deterioration in the situation of workers in the 19th century. Why more difficult? Because the cultural gap which exists between the partners today leads, as we have seen, to a massive break which happily spared the people of Le Creusot and Manchester; because the ability of global societies to absorb the alien has certainly diminished to a great extent since those times and even since the period between the wars. Even so, the majority of the States of Western Europe, although they may not have undertaken any action which is likely to bring all the variables of the phenomenon under control, have, particularly in the last decade, polarised their thinking and sometimes undertaken effective action in four main directions:

1. reduction of racial inequalities, education in human rights;

2. extension of all or some civic rights to those minorities which did not already enjoy them, which is generally the case;

3. reciprocal cultural absorption of the populations involved, including inter alia;

4. a sustained educational effort in favour of children born of immigration, whether directly or not.

Some of these directions are clearly political and commit the parties and public opinion. We will not expand on this as we are not competent to do so, nor do we wish to engage in ideological controversy. On the other hand, the overall thrust is more or less towards the cultural field, and we repeat that it is from this point of view that we shall assess it, at the same time noting that information and teaching offer the best equipped methodological access in this field. So it is that analysis and consolidation have mostly been concerned with this trend in the last ten years. Let us perhaps cite one or two examples.

I.3.1 In Great Britain today there are between 2.5 and 2.75 million people, or 4.5% of the population, who can be described as belonging to ethnic minorities from overseas. Of these approximately one million are Moslems, 300,000 Hindus and 300,000 Sikhs. Notwithstanding the **Race Relations Act of 1976** and the firm initiatives of the Commission for Racial Equality, pluralism, often vaunted as an ideal, is far from being an established fact. Certainly integration is considered by many people to be an outdated objective. The communities are becoming increasingly conscious of

themselves, and even in some cases demanding and aggressive. Recent conflicts, such as that which arose from the publication of Salman Rushdie's **Satanic Verses**, exacerbate co-existence from time to time. This is echoed amongst many leaders by attitudes which would have astonished Kipling's contemporaries. It is not unusual in the specialist commissions to hear the country described as multi-racial and "**multi-faith**".

It is true that there is many a slip twixt the cup and the lip. This should not surprise us. We have ourselves, as Chairman in France of a National Education Commission (1985-1986), observed the resistance of the old Jacobinism to many attempts at reform. In more than one or two countries we would have to note the distortion which bids fair to become the rule between the recommendations of the experts and the mistaken ideas of administrations or popular reactions. This should not be a source of dismay, for these are fields in which the renovating spirit can operate with less interference, and act successfully on an observation which is not ingenuous.

So, we profited from the study of British literature on the difficulties of coloured school children: the harrassment to which they are subject, to the extent that they are sometimes obliged to "learn in terror" (this is the title of an official brochure) and the disproportionate failures at school. Bilinguism remains very widespread amongst these schoolchildren. In greater London (ILEA), the 1989 census revealed that 24.97% of them speak a language other than English at home. Of particular interest, in regard to the thorny question of multilingualism, is the **Swann** brochure of the Commission for Racial Equality. It comments on the results of a study on **West Indian Children in our Schools (1981)**: this is a veritable compendium of the questions which arise from sensitive teaching in the composite environments of the West of today.

The adoption of the mother tongue as a medium is indeed a difficult question: difficult and equivocal, the **ad hoc** Committee emphasises, but it nevertheless does not reject bilingualism in primary school and even the teaching of the mother tongue as a basic subject. But the Commission for Racial Equality, which is supervising the survey, wonders whether there is not a contradiction there. And its comments are fairly strong, although its position in favour of multilingualism is not further clarified. It would seem that the problem goes deep, since the same reticence is found in the conclusions of one of the working parties of the Strasbourg Conference (1989) (cf. Appendix I).

I.3.2 In 1988, Belgium set up a body to be responsible for the policy and administrative and financial means for an adequate solution of all these problems. The publication, in November 1989, of a three-volume account of the first efforts makes it possible at least to assess the analytical progress. Of note in passing is the valid distinction between the two types of **culturation**, if we may venture this neoligism: family and practical: only the latter being amenable to government influence.

There are basic social principles "from which any respect that one may have for the independence of imported cultures cannot derogate." Without prejudice to the foregoing reservation, a coherent policy of integration demands unequivocal acceptance of cultural diversity and "the promotion of minority involvement in the activities and objectives of the authorities". We quote here from the report.

There follow concrete recommendations for the improvement of co-existence in regard to access to housing, adaptation of teaching, encouragement of naturalisation, promotion of employment etc. A special chapter is of course devoted to Islam, and firm action is planned against xenophobic behaviour.

This programme, the synthetic nature and practical formulations of which are commendable, shows considerable promise. As in the case of other similar ones, it will be judged on results. Other European countries are faced with the same problem, although in a climate sometimes marked as much by national habits as by de facto elements. To be complete, this paper should cover all these special cases, but of course this could not be done. After this rapid diversion into available literature, therefore, we shall return to the general analysis.

I.4 Immigrant cultures are neither immutable or inert

Although they provide us with information on the respective behaviour of those involved and the societies which receive them, the studies carried out so far in Europe as a result of the settlement of these minorities quite often disregard important aspects.

1. the changes which affect the function and roles of the cultural during the process and

2. the dynamic and sometimes conscious, even deliberate, nature of reactions not only of one but both partners.

Firstly this culture, which we implausibly persist in calling "original", undergoes various changes once it is transplanted. It is devalued and even rejected by the ambient culture, which is that of the forman, the institutions and the bureaucrats. In the most favourable scenario, it will be tolerated, but in a conditional and distorting way. Not only has it lost the major part of its means of protection and reproduction, but its continuity with its own past will be weakened not in the case of a recent arrival, but an expatriation which may go back to the second and even the third generation. This is not the most serious aspect for it. In a minority position, deprived of most of its responsibilities in the global society, it becomes more and more concerned with demarcation rather than regulation. It therefore overvalues its symbols at the expense of its content, a situation which in the long-term cannot but distort its identity. The latter has lost its base in its "original", "traditional" or "natural" soil. Although its received standards may not thereby be seriously compromised, the same is not true of the practical applications. These must now opt between an insularity which is increasingly difficult to control and adaptation to new conditions of existence, of which the closest models will be those of the neighbourhood. How can they escape from the influences of the dominant system?

In the final analysis, there is a choice between assimilation with the Other in more or less exhaustive forms, and a sort of enclavement which can be hardly more than a depression given the unequal means deployed on either side. Optative so-called "insertion" formulas, although they profess verbally not to interfere with the person of the newcomer, are hardly forthcoming in regard to the means of helping him to the full exercise of a difference which would not diminish him in reference to the reigning models. The ingenuity of the theorists and the practices of those involved will have to walk a tightrope between the Charybdis of effacement and the Scylla of the ghettos!

In all cases the transplanted culture is discursive and dysfunctional as long as it has not been able to establish new references to reintegrate it into itself by re-appropriating the new land, whether by compromise or typological resistance. It must therefore conserve new energies. This is what usually happens, when external conditions are not too overwhelming. Apart from the change of method which these readaptations imply in their tactics and more or less in their identity, there are several possibilities open to these people to guide them along this difficult road: union militancy and religious activism inter alia. The first often contributes to "insertion", but outside the government line. The second sharpens the difference. It mostly concerns the mass of Arabs, Turks and Pakistanis who comprise the majority of immigrants. This is why, in European opinion, the debate is polarised on Islam.

I.5 Council of Europe studies

Over several years the experts convened by the Secretariat of the Council of Europe have been able to prepare a number of recommendations on which we shall now concentrate our attention.

The demographic changes dating back to immigration from the countries of the South have assumed a significant importance in Western Europe: in West Germany particularly with the Turks; in France, where the children of immigrants even in 1985 accounted for 10% of the school population; in England, where 40% of schoolchildren have foreign-born mothers. In 1970 the alien population of the nine countries of the EEC at that time already amounted to more than 10 million people. There are more now, of which it is estimated today that there are nine million Moselems, who in France amount to more than 6% of the population. This phenomenon has multifarious effects which are demographic, sociological and perhaps now political. It feeds numerous controversies and now forms part of the platforms of the parties. Attention is concentrated, we reiterate, on those of origins deemed to be remote: West Indians, Indo-Pakistanis, Maghrebis, Africans, Turks. Some observers see the movement which brings them to Europe as a sort of replica of colonisation, an explanation which seems to us to be only partly true: nevertheless, the hypothesis demonstrates the atmosphere of polemics.

What is more sure is that there is a dichotomy between the contemporary history of the industrial West and the Third World. The technical and scientific revolution, which spread through the world from the West during the 19th century in the form of political expansion, cultural influences and financial investment, might well

have brought about two symmetrical disturbances in the North and the South: in the North, the rise in the standard of living, accompanied by a drop in the birth rate; in the South, a relative impoverishment leading to expatriation, and simultaneously acculturation to the languages of the Other. If one or the other of these effects causes problems today in the countries involved, we should not forget their historical correspondence, or the contingent reciprocities, although this latter aspect, which appears to us vital, is rarely taken into consideration. Be this as it may, it is within this global and binary perspective that we shall locate the facts.

Let us first emphasise our interest in the work which, since the beginning of the eighties has been devoted in Strasbourg by the Council for Cultural Co-operation of the Council of Europe, with the assistance of other specialist bodies, to the cultural and educational aspects of the problem. These aspects, far from being consequential and complementary, offer the most practical route to the reality which concerns us. We would mention in particular a report in 1986 by Antonio Perotti (1), in which we believe we have found the most acute analysis so far of immigration, perceived in its sociological complexity and its historic moment.

This document notes many signs of stabilisation amongst the populations concerned: indication of a definitive, if not full, commitment in the societies established. Really, it is the achievement (or concession) of this "full" aspect which causes problems, or rather the de jure and de facto conditions to which commitment is subject. Why? Because the consolidation of former newcomers, if we can so call them, accentuates the internal diversity of the old units. As an unexpected ally of the upsurge in regionalism and the assaults of cosmopolitanism, it contributes subjectively and objectively to the conversion of the partial identities and the general identity of old Europe. The difficulties experienced by the members of these minorities are a measure of the resistance to this transformation. The latter has certainly started, and it will be mutual. For in becoming more stable, the foreigner becomes less and less **foreign**, more and more **resident** and more and more a **member of the local community**.

On the other hand we observe the survival and even the exacerbation of ethnic identification processes, variations in descriptions, nationality rivalries interfering with administrative regulations and police actions, rendering again problematical a de facto presence deemed obtrusive by many people. Nevertheless, the social, cultural and political significance of this presence must be relocated. This is what the author attempts, researching the subjects, actions and places likely to be associated with it. A purpose to which we subscribe, amounting as it does to the observation that an immigrant can succeed completely in his new society, at the same time retaining all or some of his original standards and feelings: integration, call it what you will, no longer involves depersonalisation as we have long believed, or affected to believe. And reciprocally, we would say, the absorption of alien elements is

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(1) "Education and cultural development of migrants": Final Report of the Project Group, part II.

not a cause of weakness in the global society, but a sign of health and a factor for renewal. An observation did we say? Almost an obvious fact. For were it to be otherwise, where would be the identity of the subject, individual or collective, in its successive transformations or rather phases? The collective or individual identity truly seems to us to consist of the interaction with the Other of the same movement postulating an evolution in time.

On these points we are indeed in agreement with Antonio Perotti.

After this clear approval, we must now register a few points of disagreement.

The author assigns the actions envisaged to the new authorities emerging as a result of the social movements, or rather to the individuals, whom he dissociates from "systems", the existence of which he does not take the trouble to contest either, even on a residual basis. In his evaluation of the action to be taken, everything is based on spontaneity. But what if it were only an optimistic qualificative of fragmentation and dispersion? Does this not amount, in his case at least, to taking an arbitrary option? What experience has so far shown us is the concurrent thrust of apparently conflicting processes of fragmentation and structuration. It is not certain that the contradictions will remain indefinitely open, or that the negative takes precedence over the positive, whatever the terms that are used in this way.

Several of the studies we have read in this connection exhibit certain miserabilism. No doubt, as we said at the beginning, immigration carries within itself a wound, a wrench, a challenge. Many of the consequences of which have grevious unsettling effects on the group or individual concerned. And doubtless many of the attitudes of discomfort and rejection in the host society correspond to these trials or rather induce them. Hence the affective nature of the debate. Should we therefore exaggerate these characteristics and imagine people indefinitely defrauded or positivity? This is certainly not what A. Perotti thinks; but behind the humanistic formulas which proliferate from the pens of other experts asked to provide analysis or advice, one senses a selective pessimism. This is no more credible than the wishful thinking which prevails in many other endeavours ....

At all events, the facts will decide. Like ourselves, the Afro-Asians come from global societies and mostly from universalist systems. These are two unequal kinds of aggregates. They tolerate transplantation to varying degrees: not very well in the first case, fairly well in the second. Let us not minimise either the exemplary nature of the environment to which immigrants now aspire to accede: a small corner of a global society, made up of institutions and systems, whose framework appears more consistent to those provisionally excluded from it than to those born in it.

Mrs Thérèse Mangot rightly emphasised a certain dynamic role in cultural units. We have also done so. Let us add to the force of these models the impulse of adaptation which is essential in order to transfer a pre-machine population to the industrial stage, and

peasants to the urban way of life. Finally let us not forget that the immigrants in question have no other precedent before them than that of the West to illustrate these phases. So it is in the West that this process will continue.

It is not only A. Perotti's report which in common with many valued ones, calls for reservations on our part. All the documents contributed in Strasbourg to the 1986 synthesis seem to us, notwithstanding a very balanced analysis, to reduce somewhat to microsociology the description of the immigrant groups, thus to a certain extent disregarding their capacity for renewal and re-building.

I.6 **The project of the Council for Cultural Co-operation** (1)

Let us now take a quick look at the project. Rightly giving preference to education as a category which is certainly dependent on the context, but also benefits from some independent latitude of initiative, it broadens the received concept of teaching settings. Before and after the school, the family, the pre and post schooling, apprenticeship and an occupation, but again and perhaps especially the neighbourhood and the sphere of the media, in short all kinds of cultural creation, expression and communication constitute fronts for exchanges and initiative. New teaching strategies would facilitate the association with education proper of youth organisations, parents of pupils, neighbourhoods etc. In some cases a start is being made on this. Then there is also trade-unionism, which it seems to us is somewhat easily forgotten.

In short, the efficiency, hitherto the preserve of the schoolmaster, and at most and incidentally the burning of midnight oil at home, is now extended to all levels of society. A kind of morphological revolution of teaching was thus sketched out, with a strength of analysis and a generosity of view which one cannot but applaud. The author of these lines, chairing at the same time a similar mission to the French Ministry of Education, reached more or less the same conclusions, on the basis of more limited geographical data (cf. extract Appendix II).

I.7 **Historical mixes**

Demographic and cultural mixes are not only desirable, they are a fact. There was a Greco-Buddhist art, which lasted for a long time and is a source of wonder to us. The early Middle Ages in France saw a durable alliance between the Gallo-Roman heritage and the Frankish institution. Let us look further, and consider for a moment the description of "Judeo-Christian civilisation" applied to Europe. A little further research into this heritage and this behaviour would reveal how indebted we are in a remote way to the Biblical message, the Greek "miracle" and the institutional order and the language of the Romans. Closer to home we can easily discern the foreign input in French thought and literature, and in that of its neighbours. But

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(1) Project No. 7 of the Council for Cultural Co-operation on "the education and cultural development of migrants" (1981-1986).

these are mixes which are remote in time and cover long periods. There are also influences which are more accurately identifiable at the present time (fashion, teaching, a reorganisation of exchanges and literature, etc.). Often the movement they result in (the influence of the Encyclopedists or German Romanticism for instance) derives from a mixture of prestiges. It may lead to the expansion of a system of living (Americanism). How could we imagine in Europe such a levelling between a dominant custom and immigrant customs, with the "natural" slope in this case running counter to equity? It is assimilation at its strongest, or rather acculturation, which comes to mind rather than interculturality.

This is what happened in the Maghreb and more generally in the Third World. Indigenous systems became dependent on imported systems to the point of becoming unnatural, and even of drifting into a kind of expatriation from within, as discerningly described by A. Memmi and Fr. Fanon, etc.

It is true that contageous currents of thought, feeling and interests today militate for the overthrow of these inequalities and others. The Europe of the future will be equitable or it will not be. Democracy will become more and more egalitarian. The minorities which challenge us under the sign of culture are presuming especially on the sign of work: work which would contribute to the common prosperity. The recognition of their multiform presence has increasingly and to a better extent the characteristics of realism: it announces a world in the making, and our own presence in that world, in its desirable diversity. The promotion by us of their specific nature is at one with the acceptance of ours by all the others. It alone can form the basis for mutual action based on something more solid than the mechanical tangles of housing, or interests of course, which are too often the incentive for all our debates.

I.8 Interculturalism challenged

The second and perhaps the main novelty in the 1986 report was the broadening of the concept of **intercultural**. It was the subject of a factual analysis and a very brilliant epistemological defence and the project group broadens its application and proclaims the operational primacy of the relational. The concept has since taken on the importance of a guiding principle, to which our paper will return in detail.

The concept of interculturalism defined as long ago as 1983 has since been clarified by Professor L. Porcher to take in four ideas. The first two of these are evident, ie that:

a. most of our societies are multicultural, and will become increasingly so;

b. each culture has its specific features to be respected as such;

c. the third proposal derives from a value judgement, ie that this multiplicity is potentially an asset;

d. the fourth is in the nature of a project: for it to become so in fact, interpenetration must be introduced between all these cultures, without obliterating the specific identity of any; the multi-culturalism must be motivated to convert it truly into the interculturalism with all the dynamism that this implies.

The first three points can hardly be disputed. It could even be said that they are pure common sense and currently practised, if on a restricted basis. After all, the learning of ancient and modern languages in schools and colleges was already an instance of it, although it was scandalously elitist and ineffectual. Today international contacts, the movement of young people and the worldwide spread of certain types of music are a further demonstration. Its elevation to a generalisation should cause no surprise.

Paragraph d. deserves more thought. It extends to the experience of communities what is already known to individuals. But who cannot see that it would lose its credibility if pushed to the absolute? One can well imagine our village in France promoting the dignity of the Arabic and Portuguese spoken by some workmen in the community. Dignity equal to that of French! These idioms should therefore be taught at school, if there is a demand, and also, of course, Gascon. Can we see ourselves, in the name of equality, sharing the vehicular function which strict equality would impose?

Even in the opinion of those who speak them, these languages (and the cultures which they express) do not exhibit equal dynamism in an actual unit, and are not the subject of the same type of demand. To suppose it would be to disregard not only the socio-economic context, but also the stratification of social structures, cultural and otherwise. It would be to ignore again and in particular that the immigrant cultures, having lost their original roots now relate mainly to the host system, which was constructed a long time ago by others who defend their own cultural unit by the right of the majority, which is also a democratic right.

It is even in this change which cultural semantics has undergone - reference no longer to the lost culture, but to that of the host - that we think there may be a tentative solution. National culture and immigrant culture will in future relate increasingly to common horizons. This should in the long term lead not to absorption of the minority by the majority, but to convergences on either side.

I.9 1989 extensions

In a few months, what nostalgic people call, somewhat euphemistically, the "European balance" will have changed. In military terms, although an attachment to peace is proclaimed by the great majority of Europeans, the destruction of the Berlin wall will have replaced strategies of stability with those of movement. Noone can foresee, at the time of writing, the potential structure of Germany unity, the Community of the Twelve and even more so the wider solidarity which might be established from the Atlantic to the Urals ...

I.9.1 Theoretical premises

As José Vidal-Beneyto remarked at the Strasbourg Conference (5-7 December 1989), in a wide-ranging theoretical contribution, all the data of our problem have been disturbed or are in the process of being disturbed. He was thinking of the renovations which the perspective of complexity is bringing to all questions today. "Réel social et nouvelle démarche" (social reality and new approach) was the title of a recent contribution by G. Balandier. And the comment derived a disturbing topicality from what is happening at this moment right in the centre of Europe.

Finally, J Vidal Beneyto thus brought out a culture of inter-community initiative in the nascent, even effervescent state and the promotion of opposites as the vehicle of a freedom which we will call Heraclitean. Exciting prospects for a world still to come, which, without entirely sharing them, but appreciating them at their true worth, we relate to other ideas put forward in the last few years by other sociologists and philosophers of modernity or post-modernity: Henri Lefebvre, Kostas Axelos, Jurgen Habermas, Gianni Vattimo ...

Professor Jagdish S Gundara of London spoke, at the same Conference, in a paper as stirring as it was well-informed, of the inadequacy of **cosmetic measures**, by means of which the hypocrisy of the dominant societies have so far sought to stifle the legitimate upsurge of the civilisations of the Third World. It is the history, our mentalities, our value judgments and our policies which must first be "dismantled" and demystified.

Alain Touraine, running counter to many received ideas, discarded the idea on which we based one of our premises, ie that the notions of culture and society follow roughly similar contours. Having ventured a parallel between rationalisation and subjectivism, as joint guiding principles for progress, he invested them with the counterweight of scientific and instrumental thought, which incidentally amounted to making an expected concession to determinism and history, certain extremist interventions of which he had already eliminated. In a striking improvisation, he compared what is current in the "insertion" of alien groups in the United States and in France. Over there, tolerance or even indifference in regard to the behaviour of these groups, together with the radical requirement of loyalty to the Constitution. Here, standardising pressures at the base, and free-and-easiness in the ideological debate. "The intention", said the speaker, "is to force us to choose between scholars and prophets whereas we have already learnt to live simultaneously with knowledge and with beliefs."

I.9.2 A few preliminaries

Thus the subject of our discussions was meant to be wider and more committed than in the case of previous colloquies. Rather than summarising results already achieved, the Conference, chaired with distinction by Sir Peter Newsam, proposed to study the conditions for better participation by "citizens of different origins in a democratic and plural society".

As was natural in this bicentenary year of the French Revolution, the second part of the title alluded to the exercise of human rights, the teaching and application of which were indeed covered in several contributions. The term "citizen" reminded some people of the stormy debates which took place in some countries on the progressive or full access of foreigners to political rights. This was not, however, the line followed in the discussions, which were not to involve either legal comparisons or constitutional law, as would have been necessary in this case. Except in individual cases, and in a way that was perhaps more marked in one of the working parties, the accent continued to be on the educational act, agents and means, rather than on the wider horizons which might have been covered under the theme of our proceedings, if it had been taken literally.

After all, perhaps the Secretariat, by not specifying that political life was also involved, was implicitly defining the field of the investigations. Otherwise it would have been necessary to confront the thorny question of civic rights, the local, economic or legislative electorate etc. We will not therefore raise here a difficulty which is a matter for the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe and the European Parliament, rather than a Conference like ours.

Let us however content ourselves with commenting on the use by several contributors of the term "community". The word applies to the grouping of people of similar origins, ideas or even situation. It also applies to the framework within which they are organised. Was it the first or the second interpretation that some participants alluded to when they suggested that these groups should be given real autonomy, including the right to recruit their teachers? Were they thinking of aggregates of persons or sub-multiples of the State? It was clear in any case that they feared attempts to appropriate certain communities by their country of origin. We can only applaud this wish for clarification, but without nurturing many illusions on the practical possibilities of recruiting qualified professionals in very limited environments.

Another recommendation seemed to us more interesting: that of discarding the term **immigrant** and replacing it by **member of a minority** (minoritaire). It is very true that the problem of relations between majorities and minorities is likely to become increasingly acute, at all levels, in the Europe of tomorrow. It will replace the gulf between old residents and latecomers. Insofar as the latter establish themselves, flourish locally and are reinforced from outside less frequently than heretofore, the concept of "immigrant" will cease to be topical. How then will the problem of the minorities, thus highlighted, be dealt with? It will doubtless not be possible in this case to disregard nationality traditions or nostalgia which, depending on the country, are associated to some degree with unitarianism. We may also well wonder how this notion, which will sooner or later be responsible for effacing origins, will consort with the socio-economic context and standardising world trends in any re-modelling of Europe.

I.9.3 Partial conclusions

The agenda, which suggested dividing participants into four working parties, proposed several approaches for consideration: settings and morphologies, agents and partners, institutions, particularly in the matter of linguistic developments and new educational models. This plan, which although very enlightening was perhaps a little too emphatic, was not followed to the letter. It did however operate as a catalyst in the investigations which had been extensively broached in the contributions already submitted. Their value was complemented by an astonishing range of experiences: participation covering many fields, particularly but not exclusively educational and cultural, in countries ranging from Norway to Portugal, via Turkey.

The proceedings, the conclusions of which will be found in the Appendices, are not limited merely to refining the results of the 1986 meetings. They contributed much more substance. Continuing along the lines of previous reports, they studied the concept of inter-culturalism in depth, and further broadened that of educational setting. For instance, they emphasised, more than ever before, the need for multi-lingual education and the importance of the media (with particular reference to satellite programmes) for the broadcasting of polyglot programmes and the introduction of multilingual discussions. Such initiatives are still in their infancy on our screens, and they are more geared to considerations of profit than to the purposes of European construction. Imagination, consolidation and creation will be called for in these almost unexplored fields: there will be great results provided that their independence is guaranteed.

Without for the moment setting our sights so high or so far, the fact is that at the level of everyday life, which moves between the private and the public, and is lived in the principle places of association: the market, the crossroads, the street pavement, mediators who are themselves the issue of the crowd and the circumstance could profitably be given the task of refereeing these humble conflicts or emerging problems which are part of everyday existence. This suggestion from one of the seminars of the Colloquy of 1989 demonstrates the importance in this connection of the roles of the decentralised and private sectors. It incidentally coincides with activities already initiated in the field (cf. bibliog. 2).

Finally, it reveals the marked preference in most of these exchanges for creativity, especially in its primary forms, and a certain mistrust of unwieldiness in all its forms: great care was taken not to confuse culture, or rather cultures, with what C. Fourier calls their "fossilized cement"!...

I.9.4 General view

Thus the 1989 conference, rounding off more than one thought and many experiences, confirmed results not many of which seem amenable to a review.

It defined the nature, spirit, procedure and setting of educative action with boldness and generosity, thereby drawing valuable practical conclusions.

The play of the collective identities at issue was followed shrewdly and sympathetically, and this led also to valuable concrete deductions.

The increasing heterogeneity of European societies was seen from the viewpoint which derives reciprocity from the differences, and even eventually a project. Hence the concept of interculturism: Utopia perhaps, but an attractive Utopia from which we are entitled to expect great rewards for the future.

At the (provisional) end of this review of action to be taken, the participants at the Strasbourg Conference took stock of the difficulty of their task and the mediocre results anticipated from the activity of cultural agents alone, even broadly conceived. The ultimate object was to reconcile in depth the systems of respective values of civilisations confronted by history. Hence the prior need to define them accurately, and also the procedures for their reconciliation. Is it impossible? We do not want to think so. If the relationship with Islam can be considered as the greatest challenge in this connection, who knows whether, after these reforms, encouraging signs might not emerge to counterbalance the adverse ones?

The relationship of the minorities of foreign origin to language, culture and religion appeared to most of the contributors to be evolutive. These communities have often been settled for a very long time. They are in the process of forging a second identity, which derives to a great extent from their exchanges with their partners. The same holds good for the global identity of the whole of Europe, this Europe which can now be considered as a vast building site.

Will the measures which the Conference has recommended be translated into fact or will they remain pious hopes? We sincerely hope that they will be applied, especially by the cultural and educational agents, who are bound to consider anything which can reinforce their mission. And how better to reinforce it than by associating them with the construction of the new world, a world in which collective personalities hitherto in conflict will seek converging routes through the training of children and adolescents?

Will we arrive at a stage where values emanating from what is called the East, or other regions of the planet, will blend with ours? Perhaps this has already happened in the past, and European culture, which is basically synthetic in nature, would inevitably enrich its plural identity in the process.

II. INTRODUCTION TO NEW APPROACHES

Whilst welcoming some valid contributions, with both theoretical and practical consequences, we believe we shall not be disparaging them by emphasising certain points of view which in our opinion are insufficiently covered by the documents we have received.

II.1 Broadening the terms of the examination

The confrontation of minorities of Afro-Asiatic origin with the cultures of Europe was at the heart of the debate. The latter is, however, not limited to two parties. The increasing unification of Europe will accentuate competition between its own cultures and sharper overlaps than previously. Is it not restrictive to consider the intercultural approach as applying only between immigrations and host environments, when the latter are far from offering guarantees of a steady future for their usual contributors? (1) The Latin, Germanic, British and Slav cultures, to mention only the main ones, have so far been groping around from behind undisputed frontiers. They are now going to be shoulder to shoulder, and so much the better. The European unit will doubtless revive penetrations, mixtures and rivalries, and these are already taking shape.

For the coming generation, this will perhaps be the true problem, existential rather than educational, compared with which the problem of immigrant cultures will constitute a minor, if not insignificant, variable.

In the meantime let us observe, as we have already done, that all the cultures taken together are already influenced by a cosmopolitanism which is aligned on transatlantic models and visibly accentuating the pattern of world reference. A new element, and not the least, to be incorporated in the forecasts for the readjustments of tomorrow. Western cultures are not alone in reacting favourably to this kind of worldwide influence, nor will they remain indefinitely the exclusive forwarding agents for Afro-Asiatic cultures, which will one day be called upon to assume their responsibilities as recipients, in this field and others.

Although this prospect remains valid mainly for the future, and I mean the near future, the objection has a methodological aspect which must be taken into account in yet another way.

II.1.1 Consideration of new groupings

So far we have had a situation where it seemed that prudent educational and social policies could deal separately, in a kind of exclusive way, with their relations with immigrant cultures. Will the latter then always remain docile contributors to our share-outs? As we have already noted, can they not also play on their affinities,

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(1) Secretariat note: The Council of Europe considers that the intercultural approach concerns not only the socio-cultural integration of migrant communities, but that it must be considered a vital element in the education, cultural and social policy of all the member States.

their bargaining powers and their options in order to reshape the field itself? Most of them already take in several of our frontiers: can we always ignore these extensions and the openings they offer for renewal and alliances, and in the final analysis for general development? Questions which it will be possible to follow more closely in the forthcoming decades.

There is more. Assuming that the initiative is spontaneous, will the actions we propose and their distribution and co-ordination be left to a kind of mechanics of fluids? Let us accept that the accent can and must shift from the governmental and the planned towards the innovative, the private and the spontaneous. Can this recognition, opportune though it may be, be carried to its final consequences? To eliminate any general viewpoint, any managing design would run counter to the very subject of our research. And moreover, are we sure of avoiding inconsistency? The denial of systems, for instance, does not preclude talk in certain contributions of an educational system introducing changes in one country or another. Let us be logical: recourse to an unregulated experiment, integrating the lines of force at the worst from bottom to top, would be better than drafting programmes from top to bottom. One cannot simultaneously target a kind of segmentary freedom for others and reserve for oneself the long-term, the broad channels, the regulated exchanges and the mature plans, accompanied by state and superstate resources ....

But if this is true, who will monitor these readjustments, and what say will the foreign communities in the process of definitive settlement have in the process? Must this indirect participation go through the intermediary of political representation, with which at the moment, as we know, immigrants are not associated? In this paper, as we have stated, we have avoided, as far as possible, encroaching on politics. Would it be falling into this trap to envisage, in order to give immigrants a place, a consultative body such as a Committee of Cultures, or any other designation? Can the present Council for Cultural Co-operation of the Council of Europe qualify in this connection? The question is not within our competence. Perhaps it is not yet ripe, but it is not too soon to think about it.

II.2 The case of Islam: neither evasion nor deviation

The problems we have attempted to cover arise from the co-existence of immigrant groups with long-established populations. Their acuity varies in proportion to the existential distance experienced by the parties involved: minimal in an inter-European scenario (Poles, Spaniards, Italians of the first immigrations, Portuguese today), maximal in the case of Afro-Asians. The cultural divide then clearly plays a greater role than that deriving from racial type and physical appearance. For instance, a black person from Martinique or Réunion is much more readily welcomed in France than a French-speaking African: his "Frenchness" of manner serves him well anywhere. Conversely a Kabyle, who might be almost indistinguishable from a Calabrian, will be penalised merely by the reference to Islam. A Moslem Lebanese will find things more difficult than a Christian Lebanese, as soon as his faith has been identified: and yet the man is the same! But Islam, which is feared for both its defensive and offensive powers, arouses many reactions, as we have seen.

II.2.1 In addition to its own originality, it owes to biblical and Greek relations, shared with European civilisation, affinities which often in the past have made of it a competitive rival rather than a distinguished stranger. The contemporary era, during which it has passed through the trials of colonial dependence and the contingent struggles, has reinforced the tensions. Its geographical proximity has proved to be more productive of altercation than exchange. Its classicism gives it the capacity of awareness and expression. Expatriation brings out in it evolutive capacities which align it on the world, and demarcating symbols. It is virtually the only culture of all those involved in immigration that combines these characteristics. It is not therefore astonishing that it has some of the characteristics of a political movement rather than a religious faith, whilst at the same time retaining religion, with its zeals and conformities. Current language describes these aspects as integrism, although they have little to do with the doctrine of the Koran, and the European public is apprehensive of them all in the same way. The aesthetes, who traditionally welcome diversity, then gather to combat it (Rushdie affair in Summer 1989), as do the democrats in the name of secularity (so-called scarf affair, Autumn 1989). Both forget that the same North-Africans (especially Algerians) prove in other situations to be most amenable to adaptation, secularisation and even ancient or original forms of citizenship (Beurs).

II.2.2 The Westerner attributes the whole range of surprises and anxieties arising from the immigration of North-Africans to his country to religion, which he believed himself rid of in the conduct of citizenship. And it is quite true that the social science researcher has some difficulty in dealing with religion whilst participating fully in the civic debate. Nevertheless, this participation is coming, or rather it is being claimed. France, the country of secularity, is astonished at such claims, which are still limited, but virulent. Its Home Minister should re-introduce his sub-title, fallen into disuse, which also mentioned "the creeds". In Belgium, it is planned to set up a body to be responsible for Moslems. The British Commission for Racial Equality stands aloof from the principle of secularity in the schools. At the Strasbourg Conference (December 1989), Professor J A Gundara reports as worthy of attention the recent rise of theocracies in terms of modernity. He was doubtless thinking of the Iranian revolution, which has followers in Europe. As do indeed Islamic Wahhabism, Sufism and brotherhood, and they do so in competition with the rival attractions of trade-unionism, free thought and assimilation!

II.3.1 **An assumption**

May we at this point digress. The Belgian project just mentioned plans the recruitment of a representative council by election in the mosques. We believe this is an improper extension of a Western principle. The Koranic concept of **shura**, or "consolidation" of power with personalities who are not so much "representative" as "significant", and that because of their knowledge and virtue, would appear to be more adequate in the circumstances. This is the formula which we shall advocate as necessary and adequate to the French Government, which is also in the process of setting up an Islamic body as an interlocutor. Representation postulates homogeneity. How can you give representation to a multitude which is swelled by new arrivals from Pakistan, North-Africans born in France for three generations and converted Metropolitans? ...

II.3.2 On the other hand, there are other cases where we think the West should hold firm to its principles. Certain not always discreet propaganda sometimes maintains today that the naive idea of the historical progress of morals, which was the basis of lay teaching, is outdated. It would be tempting, in the steps of our encyclopaedists, Utopists and positivists, to say that light should succeed obscurantism, individual freedoms should replace community pressures etc. In this connection we would like to affirm as an assumption the irreversibility of developments towards human rights, the expansion of applied reason, the emancipation of women, the sharing between the public and the private, the freedom of belief and personalism in all its forms. Europe has gradually forged this ideal and has implemented it, not incidentally without some difficult clashes and disturbing reversals. If it appears to many exiles as a land of refuge, it is partly for this reason. If it has a chance to build itself up, both for itself and for others, it will not be by renouncing a moral philosophy and a purpose.

II.4 **Demystifying the "religious"**

At least these discussions, which are often uncomfortable for Westerners, have a merit: that of illustrating the importance of the subjects in a confrontation of this stature. We cannot but applaud this. Only the restoration of the subjects can extract the weakest of the partners from the status of object to which, even in the most favourable hypothesis, paternalism, knovledge and action by the strongest condemned them. The debate, at its present stage, and somewhat paradoxically since we rightly profess a sort of cultural personalism, excites in the Other a kindly abstraction rather than the concrete subject, which depends on more realistic outlooks such as police, prefectoral services etc. It is this concrete subject which must recover a personality which has for too long been broken and victimised. I mean that the initiative must be recovered by those men themselves, meeting freely. It is they who must re-interpret and even re-invent their behaviour. But our judgments must also be re-balanced.

II.4.1 The religions, including Islam, are only one of the forms which such mobilisations are liable to take. There are many others: nationality, party, union, to which rightly or wrongly little or no attention has been paid in the many gatherings devoted to the problems of immigration in the last decade. These other forms should also merit our concern. In regard to the Islamic form alone, which is the source of attention, it must be said that it is not mainly in this circumstance a case of transcendental affirmation, but of cultural signposting. Moreover the minorities which profess it, if they do not distinguish themselves partially in this way with the help of the religious symbol, do not thereby become any the less introverted regarding the situation in which they are living in their new land. Now one property of a situation, with all due deference to the dogmatic, is that it develops.

II.4.2 Many of the plans advanced thus err on the side of ignorance, or on that of deification of immigrant culture, including and especially in religious matters. Islam is not different in this connection from what the situation would be under the same social conditions, in the case of any other spiritual allegiance, or relationships of another kind.

In the final analysis, no progress is possible in relationships between minorities and the global society, without recognising dynamics for both of them and reciprocity of movement, dare we say without a shared rivival? Optimistic words? No, realistic words, requiring from both sides a sustained effort against inertia and prejudice.

II.4.3 We defined cultures at the beginning of this work as the instance of societies insofar as they seek a direction and give themselves expression. A religion considers that it has found this direction, and normally merely develops its find. To this extent it tends towards the institutional and the formulated. In this case it represents in its way a diminished culture. In contrast, insofar as its thinkers endeavour to deepen dogma, where the individual and the group experience it as a spiritual and ever-living quest, not only does it affirm itself as culture, but it revives a specific characteristic that is deeply rooted in the individual and the group.

This is what would happen for Islam in Europe if it developed its message from the ideology of resistance on which it has relied particularly so far, either in terms of constants or belief, or of a new situations with which it is confronted: it is in fact the first time that it has found itself in a heavily minority situation, accompanied by the need to adapt to industrial societies. It could in this situation bring about a cultural renaissance rather than a renunciation of itself...

Can the receiving country, for its part, help it in this transformation? Let us emphasise for a start that the initiative, main effort and decision are a matter for those involved alone. But the other can assist negatively with these salutary developments, firstly by not paralysing them, and by dissipating its own prejudices. Maybe positively too, through scientific research, which can work towards mutual knowledge and help to clarify difficult doctrinal problems arising out of adaptation. Still more could be done by broadening the training of Moslem masters responsible for conducting the renewal, for they are conspicuously absent in Europe. How can this be done? By founding a specialist institute through co-operation between an Islamic university and one of the European universities? This project, which we shall not go into in detail here, seems worthy of examination ...

II.5 Prospecting the European setting

How will the forthcoming developments between the old-established and the newly arrived cultures take shape in the near future?

II.5.1 This formidable question was broached by evoking some of the forms which might be adopted by the partners of these entities which are more apparent than real, and more involved with each other than might have been supposed at first sight. As far as can be surmised, there are various possible solutions. At all events, it does not seem necessary that they should be reduced to a micro-sociological module alone. They will make their mark amongst the new interests in the Europe of tomorrow.

Although caution is of the essence here, let us not hesitate to repeat that the regional or similar levels, rather than the communal and local, seem suitable as a framework for such developments. It is rather the region, or better the socio-economic setting, which offers a framework for cultural affinity groupings which is both consistent and fairly closely related to everyday life. It is at this level that the specific characteristics and intentionality of the partners will be reconciled with each other and with the influences which derive from more distant horizons, not to mention the effect, which is always possible, of voluntarist policies.

II.5.2 The general discussion which has so far inevitably been necessitated by a study of these problems should therefore be succeeded in a second phase by an emphasis on contours, and better-defined plans of contact. The Europe of tomorrow, the organisation of which one cannot attempt to guess at, could superimpose closer links on its present distribution according to nations and regions. This new pattern, which would not necessarily follow the lines of the previous one, would lead in the field to the composition of various forces, including inter-culturality.

This process may already have begun, although we only see it at the threshold of the great changes which bring it about. It is however possible to get an immediate idea of it by a critical examination of experiments in hand. The various centres, pilot actions, distribution centres and educational approaches involving cultural plurality in one form or another give an idea of developments in the field. But for the investigation to be conclusive, the whole of the Europe involved in these pilot projects would have to be staked out.

Eventually, what should we scrutinise? A combination as we say above, between cultures, ie between the identities involved, and especially the delegates of those of the South coming to sit with those of the North. But let us not stop at what could be a pious hope, and pose the question in another way: do the social and human sciences make it possible today for collective action to anticipate such a development, or even better to influence it? To affirm it would be to err on the side of optimism. At least can we retain the close obervation which would monitor the process and the initiatives likely to attend it.

II.6 Diversity of possible solutions

Several kinds of solution can be envisaged between diverse cultures, even and indeed especially those that are heterogeneous.

One would be merely to juxtapose them: we have an example of this in the Lebanon. A pluralism based on creed emerged there from the national pact: the results are unfortunately well known. Elsewhere instances of close co-existence, although always difficult, have shown themselves to be viable and sometimes fruitful: Belgium and Canada for instance. Separate communities can again be settled on either side of a reciprocal division, which may be not only spatial

but institutional: this was what was achieved in the Middle Ages by the status of the minorities or **dhimmis** in the Islamic state. "And why", an integrist sheikh recently asked us, "should France not allow its Moslems the same statutory autonomy as our caliphs granted in the Middle Ages to the Copts or the Jews?..."

Yes, why? If not because other formulas, more satisfactory for the heart and mind, lend themselves to co-existence. Let us however distinguish between them, even if this involves relying on the tone rather than the realities. There will be a **mixture** when the constitutive elements tend to merge; an **amalgam**, when they come together without reciprocal penetration; a **synthesis**, if their union results in a new creation.

II.6.1 One would expect to find mixtures in ex-colonial societies, for instance West Indian, or on the fringes of American negro culture. They do not seem to have been accompanied in most cases by an enhancement of identity.

Although multi-cultural, North-American society is probably in certain respects closer to an amalgam than to the other formulas envisaged. Half the population of greater Los Angeles speaks Spanish, and the autorities with commendable liberalism allow this language to be used on tram signboards and cinema posters. A statue of a former Spanish Governor is even being erected on a pavement in Olvera Street. Yet when the author of these lines was lecturing in UCLA, he did not have a single **Chicano** colleague. People of that origin were in this case more ill-favoured than the blacks, who had a few junior representatives. Nor was any communication evident between the reigning model and the Hispanic, Polish, German, Hungarian, etc., models in similar contact. Certainly there was a co-existence, and loyalty to the flag, but an almost complete barrier between them except precisely in the backwash of the **melting pot**.

In contast Latin America, Mexico and Brazil in particular, give the impression of moving towards a synthesis or in any case of claiming it. The various cultures, Iberian and Indian, even African, proclaim themselves to be national, with a preference for the second (**indigenist** movement). They jointly contrast the **criollas** ("mixed") formulations with the European ones. Unity is lived, even at the expense of heavy stratification (cf. the novels of J Amado). In any case in all these countries, the **arche**, or relationship to the original authenticity, is reducing and is more or less shared ... Some thinkers contemplate it even in Utopia: one thinks of the **raza cosmica** of the Mexican essayist Vasconcellos ...

II.6.2 Of course more space than we have available here would be needed to defend the old or new examples adduced above from the objections. If they are old, do we know their context? If they are modern, under what conditions could they be reproduced? If we propose to encourage synthesis in the future, how can this be done? The most simple method which comes to mind is of course to recast our school text-books on these lines, as has been suggested many times and sometimes done. But how can we take account of the sometimes competing values of the systems involved? For although there are

quite definitely cultural predictables, it can equally well be said that cultures are recognised mainly by their specific, even contrasted content. How can the two axioms be reconciled? A matter for close investigation at least.

II.7.0 **Interculturalism versus self-sufficiency**

Here we are into intuitive assertions, I mean sufficiency. In this matter Europe is living on the soft pillow not of doubt, like Montaigne, but of fractional certainties. One of the contributors to the 1989 Conference produced a damning document in this connection. A full-page advertisement in **Le Monde** showed the likenesses of the most famous philosophers who had, according to the editor, contributed to universal thought. Not a single one of these 168 personalities was Arab or Islamic. Well, well! Neither Averroes, who was taught in Europe for four centuries, nor Avicenna, nor Birouni! Or even the Indian Shankara or the Chinese Confucius ...

Why these omissions? Our past history, up to the Renaissance and beyond, is full of quotations from the Arabs. Averroes, champion of Aristotle, reigned in Padua up to well into the XVIIth century. Saint Thomas, who frequently refers to his theses and contests them, does so without the slightest reproach of alterity. The vast majority of the thinkers of the Third World, from Jubran to Shri Aurobindo, borrow in the same way in the reverse direction, with the same spirit of welcome.

The causes of the mania for self-sufficiency illustrated by **Le Monde's** portrait gallery, which deserves to remain proverbial like that of **Hernani**, are the dissymmetries in industrial development on either side. The metaphysicians of peoples so subject to the opprobrium of the IMF and the IBRD are neither read, nor esteemed, nor quoted!

II.7.1 Here we could add a question which has already been outlined in the first pages of this paper. This European culture, as represented by those 168 faces, what are its distinctive features? Do we have a precise idea of it, and of the others?

In her introduction to the 1989 Conference, Mrs Thérèse Mangot raised the problem of Eurpean "culture" and "identity". No contributor, as far as we know, took up the challenge. If it is difficult, indeed virtually impossible to define English, German, French etc., culture, then what can we say about European culture? That it is based on Cartesian reason, Faustian interrogation and the sensitivity of Leonardo da Vinci? Or should we choose further triads: Shakespeare, Goethe, Hugo? And if I should personally prefer Dante, Hölderlin and Kierkegaard? In these matters we can easily fall into an abyss of academic banality and arbitrary speculation!

The truth is that European culture has not, fortunately for it, waited to be defined before existing and that is to say borrowing, assimilating and changing. Let us trust it: it will develop by itself, **farà da se**, provided only that that self does not decay in vain solitude.

II.8 From interculturalism to transculturalism

The intercultural approach implies the rejection of all partitioning, since it postulates both aiming at an overall identity and the exaltation of a co-presence. "Overall"? This is still to come. What presence? That of the participants involved. The term rightly emphasises exchange and reciprocity, as indicated by the latin prefix **inter**. We are proposing to give it a third dimension, its own condition in our opinion, that of time.

For finally, in the case of interaction between subjects, the latter can only act in duration and only in relation to each other. This seems to us to be obvious. The difficulty is in moving on to applications. With the exception of linguistics, we lack convincing analyses to distinguish in systems the detail of past or present interferences. How would it be in the case of a project aimed at the future?

Professor Bhikhu Parekh of Hull, gave a good description, at a seminar in October 1989, of the reciprocal contributions of the British on the one hand and the Asians and West Indians on the other to their respective ways of being (see bibliog. 4). The description is well-advised. It complements several picturesque characteristics with very interesting jurisprudential solutions. It nevertheless leaves in suspense the question of whether, how and to what extent British culture as such is and will be influenced by the culture of its Indo-Pakistani minority. These **whether, how** and **to what extent** could also be adduced in regard to Arabs in France and Turks in Germany. However, it must be said that this relative lack of literature is not an impediment. It merely opens the way to highly specialised studies.

At all events, there is little doubt that the term **transcultural** is better than intercultural in taking into account the work of duration. A united Europe will doubtless forge for itself a **transidentity**.

II.9 An obstacle, a doubt and the possibilities of averting them

II.9.1 The difficulties will not stop with the choice of a policy. All the factual studies on the subject bring out the importance of the psycho-sociological context of an undertaking such as that which we are planning. Some people even maintain that there is a "tolerance threshold", beyond which the integration of the foreigner would be automatically resisted by the original residents. Nobody raised this question when the former colonies were being populated! All right. We shall ofcourse challenge this fatalism and automatism. But we must at least accept the effects of the economic and employment situation on co-existence between groups. More broadly, and in the case of the eventual settlement of foreigners, and their participation in certain civic rights (communal elections for instance), let us agree that the new situation will be even worse tolerated if it seems to be a concession with no counterpart, or a dismantling of consolidated rights. In this case the immigrant will perhaps arouse more acrimony with the humble, who would hold him responsible for so much common suffering! Naturally rejected by progressive circles like the school

or the union, these obstacles recover all their force, in the case of an economic crisis, in everyday life, and they would seriously compromise forthcoming syntheses: there is no point in deluding ourselves here.

One can see only one solution of these difficulties: again and still reciprocity. The European Community, through special associations, can throw bridges across the Meditarranean which, in time and with the evidence of mutual advantage, could be productive of promising solidarities for both sides. Southern Europe is geographically and traditionally best suited for such unions. It could do the same for Northern Europe, which as we know is not without historical links with the Orient: those of the Commonwealth for Great Britain, the tradition of friendship between Germany and Turkey, old inroads by Swedish culture in Iran etc. For the former colonial nations, it would be an opportunity to derive some conviviality from a past come full circle.

II.9.2 One doubt, however. To what extent are these mixes amenable, if not to analysis, to consolidation, and therefore to progress? Volantarism in cultural matters has so far received severe setbacks, and has not been successful. Would our zeal then be in vain? Would the theories propounded by the consusltants of the States and the international institutions for so many years, and by ourselves here, be to a certain extent reduced to an academic exercise?

We are convinced that this is not so, and we will justify our opinion by facts that are difficult to refute:

1. education in the broad sense, of young people and adults, conditions a major part of cultural developments. The same is more or less true for broadcast information. These are two activities relevant to intention, experience and consciousness: they could thereby achieve a sort of autonomy from complexities about which little can be done;

2. inter-knowledge between peoples and cultures, although it does not necessarily immediately reconcile them, builds bridges and brings out reciprocal areas. Nothing more is needed for a shared development to be organised in the long-term, by a sort of relational plurality, even if the negative aspect is involved.

Moreover, we readily admit that many of our researches have less to do with objective deduction than with wagers. But we do make these wagers, for they are the stuff of international peace and in the final analysis of survival.

It is true that for a long time still the issue of cultural policies will depend as much and more on political balances and socio-economic contexts, involving irrational factors and contingencies, as on our will or the ideals proposed. We must also obtain the means - people, ideas, resources - to encourage favourable developments and at least to observe their risks critically and constructively. Such should be the role in the Council of Europe of the specialist body responsible for considering these problems in accordance with the criteria discussed.

III. **ADDITIONAL RECOMMENDATIONS**
(to complement those of the 1986 and 1989 Conferences)

III.1 Locate the interaction between immigrant cultures and host cultures in the wider framework of a debate between majority and minority European cultures of today and tomorrow;

III.2 In immigrant cultures, bring out the dynamics of resistance, change, assemblage, etc;

III.3 Study the behaviour of religion-based cultures in a new social climate marked by liberalism and secularity;

III.4 Encourage the adaptation of a transplanted Islam, inter alia by encouraging better training of its officials;

III.5 Inventory and systematic typology of the locations, centres and experiences postulating cultural pluralism; draw practical consequences and projections from them;

III.6 Provide for the potential differentiation of Europe according to areas in which these various combinations will operate, in interaction with other variables;

III.7 Work for future solidarity between the Northern and Southern shores of the Mediterranean, with a view to creating buttresses for the measures adopted in favour of immigrants (especially valid in the case of Southern Europe);

III.8 Comparative study of the cultures involved; location of specific characteristics and predictables;

III.9 Setting up in the Council of Europe of a body responsible for observing the development of these phenomena and promoting inter-culturalism and trans-culturalism;

III.10 Invite well-known practitioners of the cultures involved to serve on this body.

JACQUES BERQUE
Emeritus Professor
at the College de France
31 March 1990

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4. Prof. Bikhu Pazekh, "Britain and the social logic of pluralism" (in: Britain a plural society, London, Commission for Racial Equality, October 1989)

APPENDICES

I. Reports of the four Working Groups of the Multidisciplinary Conference on the educational and cultural aspects of community relations (Strasbourg, 5-7 December 1989)

II. Prof. A. MOATASSIME, The Islamo-Mediterranean Dimension (in: J. Berque et al., L'immigration à l'école de la République, La documentation française, 1985)

III. LIST OF PARTICIPANTS

APPENDIX I

Strasbourg, 7 December 1989
AREPORT.A

MUTLIDISCIPLINARY CONFERENCE ON THE EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL ASPECTS OF COMMUNITY RELATIONS

"Enabling citizens of different origins to participate in a democratic and plural society"

Strasbourg, 5-7 December 1989

REPORT

OF

WORKING GROUP A

Measures to be taken in different social contexts (neighbourhood, associations, public services, school, the media ...) and types of behaviour to be encouraged in order to develop new community relations

Mr. A. BASTENIER (Author)
Mr. Leonidas C. BOMBAS (Chairman)
Mr. Michel MARTY (Rapporteur)

Professor BASTENIER explained the main points of his report on actions and attitudes that will need to be fostered in order to build new community relations, by placing the stress primarily on three points:

- the analysis of the intercultural option;

- the school as a socialising influence within composite communities;

- the appearance of religious observance, and more particularly of Islam, on the European scene.

The conclusions of this report were unanimously approved by the members of the group.

A broad debate ensued on the question of the teaching of languages and cultures of origin in schools in the host country. Some participants advocated teaching all the languages of origin at school, while others emphasised the need to give priority to the language of the host country, since only this language could offer migrants' children an understanding of the social structures of the host country.

The group was in favour of taking account of the culture of origin in the education syllabuses of the host country.

The representative of Italy drew attention to the value of making use of the media to bring interesting intercultural experiments conducted in Italy or in other countries and Council of Europe documents on human rights, to the public eye.

Since schools are not the only institutions responsible for educational activities, programmes in other sectors must be envisaged. In this context, the group adopted the Organising Committee's proposals to urge the appointment of "mediators" who would intervene at neighbourhood level to settle everyday conflicts arising between members of the different communities. The mediators would be chosen from among independent personalities in the host society and from the immigrant communities. The aim is not to set up a new institution, but to make use of the skills of people having proved their worth in various fields.

Strasbourg, 7 December 1989
[AREPORT.B]

MULTIDISCIPLINARY CONFERENCE ON THE EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL ASPECTS OF COMMUNITY RELATIONS

"Enabling citizens of different origins to participate in a democratic and plural society"

Strasbourg, 5-7 December 1989

REPORT

OF

WORKING GROUP B

Actions which educational and cultural agents can develop, in their own sectors or in co-operation with others, to improve social relationships

Dr. Boel WESTERBERG (Author)
Mr Alf MODVAR (Chairman)
Mr. M.G.F. MUNTINGH (Rapporteur)

PRELIMINARY REMARKS

The answers to the questions of Group B should be given on three levels.

1. The macro level

- This concerns the question of the central values for all people, the values which we should share, based on the accepted statement of human rights.

- We should realise that it will be very difficult to involve different groups in improving social relationships when the question of inequality, deprivation, ghettos is not solved.

2. The meso level

- This concerns the question of who are the agents of improving social relationships and how to organise them to attain improvement.

- We should realise that there are more and important agents than the schools.

3. The micro level

This concerns the question of what actions individuals can undertake to raise consciousness of dominant culture, use the multicultural background of people for better social relations and place the dominant values in an historical, geographical and social context.

SUMMARY OF THE ANSWERS OF THE GROUP TO THE QUESTIONS

1. Dominant patterns

- We should not stress differences. These are shared values in the Western culture like:

  - equality of men and women
  - respect for life
  - etc.

- In the multicultural society there will be different opinions on these central values, which cause problems.

- These problems are a challenge for schools, societal organisations, politicians and can only be dealt with, an open mind and by institutions which reflect a multicultural society.

- We should concentrate on the perspective of children and those who work with children.

- The aim is to work on co-operative systems.

2. Aims and purposes of social and cultural co-operation

- To live together, co-operate, work together

- Co-existence of and interaction between cultures

- Tolerance

- Intercultural education and co-operation should be an aim of local and national authorities, based on the declaration of human rights.

3. Hindrances

- The traditional school system insofar as it meets the needs of the middle class groups better than those of children of lower economic classes and migrants. The school system has to be transformed.

- The state: most of the regulations imply that the children are there for the state instead of the other way around.

- We should be aware that the educational system has not only a great potential in improving social relations, but also limitations, especially in the field of pre-school age and labour market.

4. Who should be responsible?

- In general the family, schools, local, regional and national authorities, but we should find other partners:

  - in the health services, social work, institutions operating in the field of leisure, media, sport, trade unions, churches.

- Special attention is needed for:

  - immigrant organisations, groups and communities; they should be helped to participate in parent organisations.

  - young immigrants themselves should be supported to express their opinions.

  - trade unions.

5. In what ways should the actions be organised

- Regional actions on improving social relationships should be connected to each other: actions against under-employment, early school leavers, vandalism etc.

- Training agents/teachers in schools, social institutions/ organisations not only in intellectual, but also in personal and professional knowledge of cultures, relativisation of our own values and culture, awareness about our own social and cultural roots.

- Give immigrant organisations more influence in different types of organisations, parent organisations, trade unions, local authorities etc. and support them.

- Give young migrant people more chances to express their opinions and support them.

- Trade unions, industries, churches etc. should be stimulated to take action on equal opportunities for immigrants and so improvement of social relations.

- Development of intercultural curricula and materials for schools.

- Support for measures for the pre-school children and kindergarten.

- Organisations and groups of migrants should have the resources and opportunity to influence decision and policy making on different levels.

- National authorities should take responsibility for laws on intercultural education. Local authorities should take responsibility for interrelating different aspects.

- On the European level there should be more exchange of experience, building up upon Project No. 7. For example, by developing a further research programme on the themes of this Conference.

Strasbourg, 7 December 1989
AREPORT.C

MULTIDISCIPLINARY CONFERENCE ON THE EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL ASPECTS OF COMMUNITY RELATIONS

"Enabling citizens of different origins to participate in a democratic and plural society"

Strasbourg, 5-7 December 1989

REPORT

OF

WORKING GROUP C

How can social, cultural and educational institutions take account of the development of languages, cultures and religions of communities of foreign origin?

Professor Ali MERAD (Author)
Professor Bozkurt GÜVENC (Chairman)
Mr Bruno DUCOLI (Rapporteur)

In view of the fact that attitudes to the language, culture and religion of the communities of foreign origin are evolving and that the communities in question are communities which have been settled in the host country for some considerable time, the group has had long discussions on the new identity as a meeting halfway, and at a higher level, between of all the cultures involved. In this sense, European identity is still under construction.

Communities of foreign origin must be put in a position to function as such. This being so, there is a need to find interlocutors within these communities and to prepare them to take responsibility for the needs of their respective communities and to demand that from the states of origin and the host states respond to those needs. Teachers of the language and culture of the country of origin, and animateurs, must be found within these communities and must not be sent by the states of origin. As for religion, when conflicts arise between the values of the different communities involved, the strategy proposed is one of tolerance first and y negotiation later. To this end, there is a need to find structures for negotiation and conciliation. These negotiation structures should come into play both for intra-community and intercommunity discussions.

This passage from Gesellschaft (society) to Gemeinschaft (community), from mechanical solidarity to organic solidarity, calls for a great deal of respect for the rhythms of change within each culture and demands that each culture - including that of the host country - should remain open to the promptings of the other.

Finally, the group feels that all the communities of foreign origin should be taken into consideration, and that the debate should no longer be focussed exclusively on the Arab community, and particularly not on the Arab community rearded exclusively from a religious perspective.

Strasbourg, 7 December 1989
AREPORT.D

MULTIDISCIPLINARY CONFERENCE ON THE EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL ASPECTS OF COMMUNITY RELATIONS

"Enabling citizens of different origins to participate in a democratic and plural society"

Strasbourg, 5-7 December 1989

REPORT

OF

WORKING GROUP D

What new educational models are needed for the emerging intercultural society?

Mr Pieter BATELAAN (Author)
Mr Marino OSTINI (Chairman)
Mr Malcolm CROSS (Rapporteur)

Introduction

1. There was widespread agreement in the group that we had to build on the experience and work which preceded this conference. It was recognised, however, that implementation of the Group 7 report had been uneven and that the position in Europe had changed significantly in the last four years. Increased labour movements within the EC from 1992, changes in Eastern Europe and emerging ethnic conflicts in some member States (eg Yugoslavia) all combine to make the development of intercultural education an even more vital policy than before.

2. It became clear that a single model for implementing intercultural education would be inappropriate and, in any case, unlikely to succeed. Not only do issues differ greatly between nations but also within them. For example, the regional context may make an important difference as, of course, may the size and composition of ethnic minority populations.

General principles

3. Certain principles on which new developments should be based did emerge. They were as follows:

i. that minorities are likely to be a part of most European societies for the foreseeable future and that language and policies should reflect this fact. For example, the use of the term "immigrants'" should be restricted to those who had in fact migrated. Similarly terms such as "aliens" or "foreigners" were likely to be counterproductive.

ii. that as a consequence of point i. policies should be for minorities and not for migrants.

iii. that the views of minorities themselves should be influential in determining the development of appropriate policies.

iv. that intercultural education should affect the whole of the educational process rather than be provided for a small sector. Clearly, some provision for minorities themselves (eg language training) may be necessary but integrated provision, combined with equality of access and high educational standards should be the norm.

4. Current priorities

It was not felt appropriate to dwell too long on developing new models, particularly because there is little evidence that we have fully explored the potential of current ideas for how to create active citizenship for all through the means of intercultural education.

However, what did emerge were a series of current priorities. These were as follows:

i. The need for further curriculum development. If we are to take seriously the general principle that intercultural education should affect the whole curriculum then there is much work to be done in generating new material. This will have to not only reflect the composition of our societies but also allow us to pursue general improvements in educational standards that we all have to achieve.

ii. The need to establish bilingualism on a much more solid base than hitherto. Clearly this will involve more than a passive acceptance of the languages of minorities; something much nearer to a celebration of diversity is required.

iii. The continuing need to overcome problems of under-achievement. It is widely recognised that if certain groups systematically underperform in measures of educational performance than it will never be possible for them to enjoy the active citizenship to which reference has already been made.

iv. All of this requires a major focus on the training of teachers to cope with rapidly changing social and economic conditions.

5. Lines of Development

In thinking about the future, the group was particularly concerned to ensure that the important role of the Council of Europe should be recognised. In each of the four ideas for development which are proposed below, it is felt that the Council has an important role.

The lines of development are as follows:

i. Great benefits can be gained from negotiating intercultural education provision bilaterally between member States of countries of origin and those of adoption.

ii. Staff and pupil exchanges are one increasingly crucial area for further development. As Europe becomes more integrated, the Council is perhaps uniquely placed to facilitate these exchanges through a new exchange programme.

iii. It is widely accepted that schools benefit very greatly from enhanced relations with their communities. This may take the form of community education initiatives or it might be through school-business compacts. This requires a new form of educational provision in which both national governments and the Council have an important role to play.

iv. Intercultural education offers a unique opportunity to incorporate the perspectives provided by minority cultures on the environment into the school. This should be fully developed by linking developments in education with the work on environmental protection and sustainable growth which the Council is carrying out.

RESEARCH TOPICS

Possible topics

- Position of black children in special education (ie having special educational needs not being treated separately).
- Tension with some fundamental religious groups as regards the position of women.
- Bilingualism and whole school approach.
- Assessment procedures (in first language or in the language of instruction)
- Parents as partners in the education of their children
- Intercultural education in schools with children belonging to a same group
- "Models" (and how to evaluate them) of early socialisation in (between) two or more cultures (kindergartens)
- The socio-economic situation for 2nd and 3rd generation immigrants.
- How can the quality of learning be improved by co-operation between schools and the community, its neighbourhood etc?
- Do religiously based schools necessarily lead to segregation, or: under which conditions will they be an emancipating factor.
- To seek for the possibility for co-operation between the host country and the country of origin for the education of general culture of both countries. (History, geography, literature, philosophy, arts, etc.)
- The role of religion in intercultural education
- Active participation of the school's local partners (parents, local authorities, local firms, various associations etc), school activities in favour of integration and hence a new support structure, innovative teaching methods and materials, initial and in-service training of teachers etc.

A P P E N D I X I I

THE ISLAMO-MEDITERRANEAN DIMENSION

by Ahmed Moatissime

I will confine myself to a few points which, notwithstanding the place they already occupy in the report, seem to me to merit further development, with more emphasis on the **national**, **historical**, and **geographical** nature of the problem.

1. At **national** level, an ongoing initiative should be sustained through the media, parents of pupils and teachers to demonstrate the irreversible nature of the situation. The problem of immigrant children should be presented as no longer a marginal question, calling for a proper effort of "solidarity", but as an indication of the inadequacy of a teaching system which has not so far kept pace with the great political and social upheavals which have occured in the world since the Second World War. It is by studying a few pathological cases from time to time that one can often obtain an indication of the health of the whole population. In certain Scandinavian countries, unexpected results from special teaching studies on immigrant children have called into question general teaching methods, and even education policies.

2. **Historically**, the cultural consequences of the links created by colonisation will doubtless be the most durable, not only in North Africa but also in France. This may be considered more as a beneficial and unexpected gift from the tensions of the past. But these cultural effects, however hopeful they may be, will certainly, if it has not already happened, put to the test the genius of each people and its ability to assume, and no longer submit to, such a heritage. In North Africa, notwithstanding serious divergences, French is now accepted as the preferred second language, and this is leading to an irreversible change in the cultural language. France should also, thanks to the presence on its territory of many young North Africans, accept a development of its cultural expression. And it is here that general teaching of Arabic and the Islamo-Mediterranean cultures at all levels could eventually be introduced. Young Frenchmen are neither less gifted than young North Africans not to have to cope with the two great languages of the Mediterranean, French and Arabic, nor better equipped by virtue of French culture alone to dispense with the Mediterranean contribution.

3. The **geographical** value of such an educational, cultural and linguistic policy must be evident to all those who aspire to a better balance of forces for the construction of the peaceful world which is vital, at the threshold of this third millenium, for the survival of the human race. Only a Latin-Arab Mediterranean based on an Arab Maghreb (having absorbed Franco-occidental culture in the South), and a European France (having absorbed Arab-Islamic culture in the North), would be in a position to avert the permanent danger of block politics. It is a danger which the Middle-East tragically, and

Western Europe, to a lesser extent (cf. Atlantism), are already sadly experiencing or likely to experience. In the absence of any immediate political and social rapprochement on a basis of reciprocity and equal exchanges, this is a chance to cement these cultural and human links on both sides of the Mediterranean in order to write, on a wider scale, a new "Andalusian" history of tomorrow, all around the Mediterranean. A final appointment not to be missed ...

(Extract from J Bergue et al.,
L'Immigration à l'Ecole de la République,
La documentation française, 1985).

APPENDIX III

Strasbourg, 7 December 1989 CC-MG-Conf (89) Misc 19
Strasbourg, le 7 décembre 1989
ACC-MG-Conf89.Misc19

MULTIDISCIPLINARY CONFERENCE ON THE EDUCATIONAL AND CULTURAL ASPECTS OF COMMUNITY RELATIONS

CONFERENCE PLURIDISCIPLINAIRE SUR LES ASPECTS EDUCATIFS ET CULTURELS DES RELATIONS INTERCOMMUNAUTAIRES

Strasbourg, 5-7 December 1989/Strasbourg, 5-7 décembre 1989

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